2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

193 women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is 197 making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* 101 of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serenget' plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balaŋga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

226 The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not [262] eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, 224 both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable 282 from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peiáya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] 181 They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of 123 establishing contact with them.

● 194 The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would 192 seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mósiro* [177]

[161]

[1] See p. 131, *loc. cit.* The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*.

[2] About 4000 in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

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tongues to be observed in it, certain words would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai. There are certain other words which the *Mósiro* say the *Aramanik* have taken from them. The *Aramanik* say the reverse is the case. For instance, an ox, in the *Aramanik* tongue, is *kirigit*. The *Mósiro* call it *kirigi*.

Numbers of words in the *Aramanik* language have no plural form, and the language as a whole, to the ears of a very inexperienced amateur philologist, would seem to be more primitive than that of the *Mósiro*. Its most pronounced characteristic, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of a half-sounded *k*—generally at the termination of a word. Again, the *Aramanik* numerals differ from the Masai up to three only. I have gone into this matter at some length, but all my *Aramanik* informants are unanimous in stating that there never were any words for numbers above three until the remainder were borrowed from the Masai. This does not altogether satisfy me.[1]

Investigation of the Dorobo living adjacent to the 'l-Oita, Purko and Ol-Oitokitok Masai would, doubtless, be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are *Aramanik*, but I have little to advance in support of my theory.

As in the case of the *Il-Mósirŏ*, some *Aramanik* are stated to have been adopted, in their fathers' time, into various Masai clans—mainly the *'L-Aiser*.

The Masai smiths (*Il-Kunŏno*)[2] had a dialect of their own which was not generally understood by the Masai. However, it was universally agreed to be a bastard Masai, and the *Kunŏno* were never asserted to be anything but Masai. I do not think they can be identified with any of the types of Dorobo we have seen so far.

Il-Kitokorda ; Il-Kisangara[3]

It is unfortunate that I am able to say little or nothing about these peoples. Whether they are two distinct types of Dorobo

[1] See Merker: *Die Massai*, p. 237. I could discover no *Aramanik* who knew all the numerals here given, but as *Die Massai* was first published in 1904, presumably the list of numerals was obtained at least twenty-five years ago and probably more.

[2] Mainly drawn from the *Il-Kipuyŏni* family of the *Il-Mŏlelyan* clan (Hollis).

[3] The names here given are probably not the true names of these Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*'.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

The *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* Languages

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ñg* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalo*[2]) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ^ appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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very open but short sound. In the case of *shódahai*, the *ó* is so open as almost to sound like the *a* in the English *father*. 194

ˈ denotes that the vowel beneath it has a short, clipped sound. In *ilˈl*, the *l* is pronounced like the *a* in the English *fat*.

. beneath a letter means that it has a slurred sound. *p*, *b*, *v* and *w* in the Masai and *Mósiro* tongues are almost interchangeable.

With regard to the list of numerals given, the similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* words (up to 5) will be apparent at once. The Aramanik *one* and *two* are unlike anything else in the list, unless *kindei* can be said to resemble *akeŭge* or *epei*. 802 197

The Somali, Masai, Latuka and the two Dorobo words for six are all alike, but the *Mósiro* word for *seven* and the *Aramanik two* (as stated above) have no resemblance to any others in the several counts. Possibly the former may be a corruption of the Nandi *seven*.

Turning to the list of nouns; only the word for *ox* is the same, or practically so, in *Mósiro* and *Aramanik*. No other corresponding words would appear to have the least resemblance in these tongues (except *asíta* and *ajil*) or in Masai. However, the remarkable similarity between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi list will not fail to be noticed at once. 192 197

The names of the game animals, in the *Mósiro* language, would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai in some cases. There will also be observed a certain similarity between *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* in the word for *hartebeest*, and the word for *wildebeest* is obviously the same in all three tongues. The likeness between *Mósiro* and Nandi will here be noted again. [177]

Some of the simpler verbal forms from Masai and Nandi have been taken and the *Mósiro* equivalents inserted. The similarity between the last two is again manifest. It is to be regretted that I am unable to submit examples of the *Aramanik* verbal forms. These are extremely primitive and very difficult to write, and I hesitate to place on record the very hastily-written examples I have, so far, had the opportunity of obtaining. 192 197 198

It may be as well to mention that the *Mósiro* examples given herein were all written down before I had access to

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apparent, but the outstanding dissimilitude, curiously enough, would seem to me to be the variations in the several manners of speaking Kiswahili. The pronunciation of the Kwavi, once heard, is never forgotten. It is nasal and unmelodious, with invariable pauses after such words as "but" and "and." The Dorobo method is characteristically lazy. Syllables to which the full value could quite easily be given are slurred over for no apparent reason. *Kutapika* commonly becomes *Kuta'i'a*. *Faru* is often rendered *Faoo*—but this may be due to Wanguu influence.[1] The Kiswahili-speaking Masai is more correct and enterprising. He often acquires curious words and expressions, and by virtue of his volubility and his employment of peculiar constructions cannot be mistaken. The Arusha speaks like the Kwavi, but without the pervasive nasal quality.

It is hard to differentiate on paper, but in conversation with representatives of the tribes mentioned the average European ear will not fail to detect the differences after a little experience.

Note.—I regret very much that owing to my inability to read German I have not been able to refer fully to Merker's well-known work[2] on the Masai, which contains much useful and interesting matter concerning the Dorobo.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

[1] [*Faa* is sometimes heard in Kenya Colony. It is a well-known tendency in Kiswahili—somewhat exaggerated by the Akamba—to drop intervocalic consonants, especially *l* and *r*.—A. W.]

[2] Merker: *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1910).

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

my apprentices in the Nandi Industrial School at Kâpsabet; our friendly reception by this elusive people is therefore due to Arap Ngamîgam. We should like to make it clear that this paper is the result of a short *safari*, and intended as a preliminary study, not as a finished and complete account.

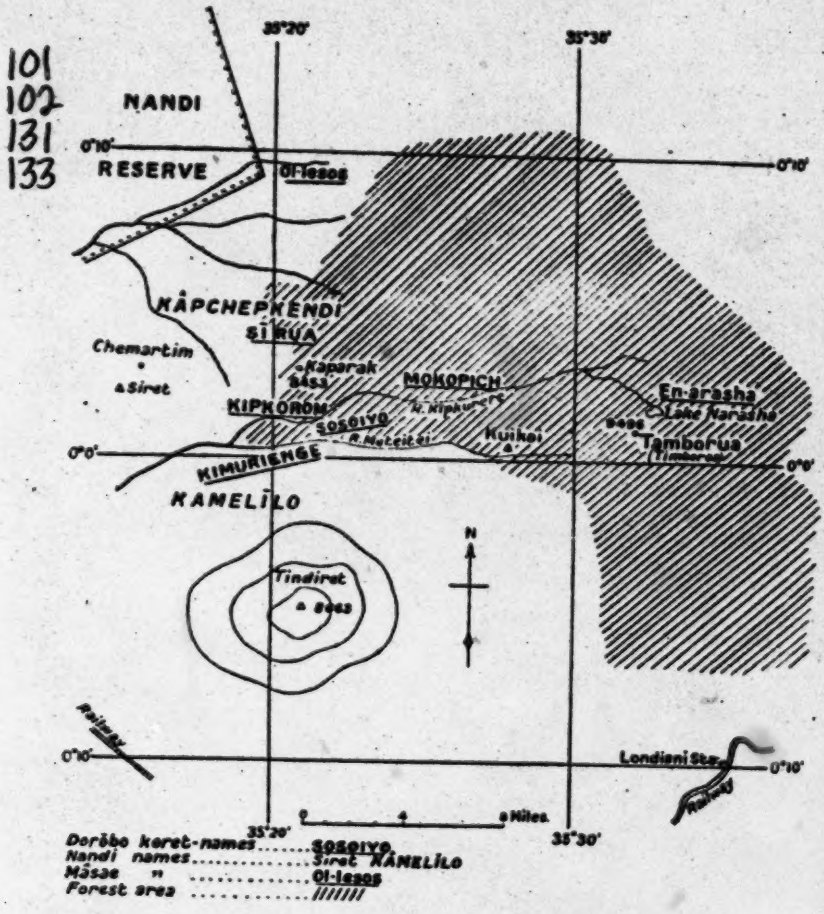

FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP OF THE KÂMELILO-KÂPCHEPKENDI DOROBO COUNTRY.

Both Nandi and Dorobo words are spelt according to the system adopted by Sir A. C. Hollis in his masterly work, *The Nandi*. It should be noted, in the words Okiot, Okiek (stem Oki-), that the k of the stem is semi-voiced, *i.e.* between k and g.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

VI.—LANGUAGE.

197 The language of the Dorōbo is in structure a dialect of Nandi, which belongs, in point of development, to a stage between the Elgon dialects (Kony, Sapei, etc.) and Kipsikis (or Lumbwa). While many of the words are either (i) more or less the same as in Nandi, or (ii) the same as in other dialects of Nandi, a number of words do not belong to the Nandi group at all, nor have I been able to trace them in other languages; the assumption is that they represent the remains of the original Dorōbo language. Māsae (especially Uasin Gishu) has also contributed to the vocabulary.

Grammar.

193 *Letters.*—The spelling is the same as that used in Sir A. C. Hollis's book. As in Nandi, *k* is often inclined to a *g*-sound: in such cases it is written *k*; *b* sometimes inclines to a *w*-sound. There is in some words a broad *u*-sound, here written *uu*, for which Nandi has *u*; the broad *au*-sound which Hollis heard in Tanganyika appears here as *d*[1]; I could hear no trace of the replacement of *p* by *v* which he also heard. (N.H., p. xxviii.)

[194] *Accent.*—The accent is equal on all syllables, as in Nandi.

Substantives.—As in Nandi, nouns have a primary form (without "definite article") and a secondary form (with "definite article").

The secondary suffix, or "definite article": (i) sing., -t, -ta, -to, -da, -do; (ii) pl., -ek, -eik, -ik, -uek.

Formation of the plural.

The general rules for the formation of the plural are as follows:—

(i.)

When the sing. endings are -et, -(i)at, the pl. ends in -es-iek:—

Singular.		Plural.		English.
Primary.	Secondary.	Primary.	Secondary.	
kochong-o	kochong-et	kochong-s	kochong-es-iek	*hut*
toror	toror-et	toror-es	toror-es-iek	*road*
murer	murer-iat	murer-es	murer-es-iek	*sweetheart*

(ii.)

When the sing. endings are -it, -ot, -ut, -chot, the pl. ends in -is-iek:—

keb	keb-it	keb-is	keb-is-iek	*bullock*
oldau	oldau-it	oldau-is	oldau-is-iek	*heart*
olmorondoi	olmorondoi-t	olmorondoi-is	olmorondoi-is-iek	*spear*
asingai	asingai-t	asingai-ts	asingai-ts-iek	*necklace*
konokcho	konokcho-t	konokcho-ts	konokcho-ts-iek	*baboon*
kumuri-o	kumuri-ot	kumur-is	kumur-is-iek	*biceps*
samba	samba-t	samba-is	samba-is-iek	*fur cap*

[1] Though occasionally *au* is heard.